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Act According to the Principles Laid Down by Chairman Mao!

- Militant oath by Shanghai's ten million people

(Hsüeh-hsi yü P'i-p'an /Study and Criticism/, No. 10, September 30, 1976)

Word of the great leader Chairman Mao's death instantly plunged both banks of the Huangp'u River into immense grief.

Respected and beloved Chairman Mao, the people of Shanghai remember you with unbounded affection. From the site of the "First Congress" of our great Party founded by you to the People's Square where the congratulatory message from the Party Central Committee headed by you was relayed during the January Revolution storm, from the blast furnace, spinning and knitting machines, above and below the ship's deck, inside and outside the battle ships which bear your great footprints to the broad sweep of the people's communes which were immensely inspired by your personally inscribed comments, and from your portraits which tower over pine and fir trees to the television sets which show your determined and composed look, your countless loyal sons and daughters are recalling your lofty achievements, telling about your deep bounty, mourning in silence, weeping sorrowfully, vowing....

At this moment of boundless grief, respected and beloved Chairman Mao, the Party Central Committee transmitted your adjuration: "Act according to the principles laid down!" Oh, Chairman Mao, you haven't left us, you are still directing us to fight. We seem to see you waving your big hands affectionately to us on the Tienanmen rostrum. We seem to hear your voice lingering long under the blue sky. It is your instruction that has turned our unbounded grief into infinite strength.

"Act according to the principles laid down" means acting according to the proletarian revolutionary line and policies set by you. Chairman Mao, Chairman Mao! All our victories are victories for your revolutionary line, victories for your brilliant thought. The history of the entire revolution shows that our Party will develop and the revolutionary cause will be victorious when your revolutionary line is carried out, and that our Party will suffer setbacks and the revolutionary cause will fail when your revolutionary line is not followed. This is a most vitally important historical experience and we will always bear it in mind.

Chairman Mao, your devoted sons and daughters heed what you said the most. Shanghai's ten million people vow with tears in their eyes: We will closely unite round the Party Central Committee and forever act according to the principles laid down by you!

I

Respected and beloved Chairman Mao, you once profoundly pointed out: "You are making the socialist revolution, and yet don't know where the bourgeoisie is. It is right in the Communist Party -- those in power taking the

capitalist road. The capitalist roaders are still on the capitalist road." You represented our working class and poor and lower-middle peasants, their interests and aspirations of continuing the revolution. You personally initiated and led the great proletarian cultural revolution and the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius, smashing the two bourgeois headquarters of Liu Shao-ch'i and Lin Piao. You personally initiated and led the struggle to criticize Teng and repulse the Right deviationist wind to reverse verdicts, eliminating a hidden source of trouble to our Party and country. We will certainly carry out your behests and carry the struggle to criticize Teng and repulse the Right deviationist wind to reverse verdicts through to the end under the leadership of the Party Central Committee.

To criticize Teng is to defend your proletarian revolutionary line. In the days of mourning you the venerable, comrades of the Shanghai No. 17 Cotton Mill, the Shanghai No. 30 Cotton Mill, the Shanghai No. 31 Cotton Mill, the Shanghai Valves Works and many other units went over again and again your theory of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat and reviewed the great struggle of the great cultural revolution. "Revolution makes us aware of Peking's proximity and rebellion draws us closer to Chairman Mao." Oath-taking meetings to criticize Teng and promote production were held by all the four work shifts of the spinning workshop of the Shanghai No. 17 Cotton Mill, with 47 groups all drawing up plans for fulfilling on the shop floor the task of consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat. After the memorial rally for you, they turned their grief into combat and spent the whole night putting up a number of revolutionary big-character posters in penetrating criticism of Teng.

Chairman Mao, you must have seen the fierce flames of criticizing Teng spreading from factories to villages, from railways to the harbor, from shops to schools, and from the armed forces to government offices. The comrades turn their unbounded affection for you into bitter hatred for the capitalist roaders, penetratingly dissecting and analyzing the three big poisonous weeds concocted on Teng Hsiao-p'ing's instruction, holding one meeting after another to criticize Teng and putting up one batch of big-character posters after another in criticism of Teng. The workers and staff of Hutung Shipyard link their study of the "Message to the Whole Party, the Whole Army and the People of All Nationalities Throughout the Country" with criticism of the three big poisonous weeds. The Party committee of the No. 101 Plant held four meetings in succession to plan the criticize-Teng struggle, with the workers of the whole plant contributing more than a hundred articles in criticism of Teng in a matter of days. The commanders and fighters of the third company of a certain unit of the Shanghai Garrison analyzed the reactionary views of the three big poisonous weeds point by point; after battling for more than a week they wrote more than 30,000 words of comments on the reactionary views expressed in 29 sections.

Chairman Mao, you must have heard the Shanghai contingent of worker-theorists making their firm pledges to you: "We live and die in defense of your revolutionary line!" This contingent has grown up under your affectionate solicitude and care. After tempering itself in the movement to criticize

Lin Piao and Confucius and the struggle to criticize Teng and repulse the Right deviationist wind to restore verdicts, it has grown into a 300,000-strong mighty army. Through criticism of the three big poisonous weeds, the worker-theorist group of the Shanghai No. 5 Steel Mill expressed immense revolutionary anger at Teng Hsiao-p'ing's attempts to distort and tamper with revolutionary theory. They were further determined to study Marxist-Leninist works seriously and study the brilliant articles that you devoted your lifetime to writing, so as to enhance their ability to distinguish genuine from sham Marxism and fight all their lives to defend your brilliant thinking.

Chairman Mao, in the struggle against the bourgeoisie in the Party the vast numbers of cadres and masses in Shanghai have gained a still deeper understanding of the Party's basic line you formulated. In order to restrict bourgeois rights and strive to create conditions in which it will be impossible for the bourgeoisie to exist and to arise anew, cadres adhere to three-togetherness and the masses participate in enterprise management and they have created many workable and practical forms. Even the Little Red Soldiers bear firmly in mind your instruction "Class struggle is the key link." On the night of September 14, four Little Red Soldiers of a community-run primary school on South Szechwan Road came upon an active counter-revolutionary element engaged in sabotage activities. Remembering your teachings, they bravely and deftly fought against the counter-revolutionary element and caught him red-handed with the assistance of a militia detachment. Chairman Mao, guided by your radiant thought and your line, we unite in combat, in determined struggles against the sabotage, splittist and conspiratorial activities carried out by class enemies at home and abroad. No enemy can crush us, and we will crush all enemies.

II

Respected and beloved Chairman Mao, you all along attached major importance to the revolution in the superstructure. You personally initiated the criticism in Shanghai of the new historical play Hai Jui Dismissed from Office, and issued the battle order directing the working class to move into the superstructure and station there. Fundamental changes have now taken place in the spheres of education, literature and art, physical education, public health, science and technology and so forth. But the revolution is not over yet, it is continuing.

Chairman Mao, the revolutionary teachers and students and members of the workers propaganda teams in the educational sphere in particular cherish your memory! Spurred on by the struggle to criticize Teng and repulse the Right deviationist wind to reverse verdicts, they are determined to turn schools into tools of the dictatorship of the proletariat. The worker-peasant-soldier students of the city's 16 colleges and institutions of higher learning have all pledged to restrict bourgeois rights with practical actions and identify themselves with the workers and peasants. The workers of "41" Factory at Futan University's Department of Physics and teachers mourn you with deep sorrow. For days the "dagger squad" of the components workshop has attacked the quality bottleneck and raised two

to threefold the average rate of stnadard products, striving to fulfill the production task for the whole year before National Day so as to make greater contributions to the school's revolution in education and socialist construction.

Chairman Mao, the literary and art fighters particularly remember you! The performers of the Model Revolutionary Stage Productions Group, who had the good fortune of being received by you, the fellow students of the May 7 Peking Opera Training Class, who joined the literary and art front in the first spring of the 1970's, and the vast numbers of literary and art workers, who under your guidance freed themselves from the harmful influence of the sinister revisionist line on literature and art -- they have all pledged themselves to you to "perform revolutionary plays and become revolutionaries for the rest of their lives, vowing to carry the revolution in literature and art through to the end!"

Chairman Mao, health fighters especially remember you! Since you gave your brilliant instructions to barefoot doctors in Shanghai in 1968, more than 9,300 barefoot doctors have appeared in the city today, with the number of worker doctors in factories, mines and workshops exceeding 7,600. Guided by your "June 26" directive, urban hospitals have put the stress on the rural areas in medical and health work. More than 2,000 medical workers regularly tour other areas and the suburban areas to provide medical service where needed. They are determined to turn grief into strength and forever advance along your revolutionary line.

Chairman Mao, the Red Guard fighters especially miss you! Guided by your fighting call "educated youths go to the countryside," some 1,020,000 educated youths in Shanghai have gone to mountainous and rural areas over the past eight years. At present, a new upsurge in the going to mountainous and rural areas movement is emerging. Many middle schools throughout the city have formed new combat groups for going to mountainous and rural areas. Many people from Wusung No. 2 Middle School, the alma mater of Chin Hsun-hua, and the Penhsi Middle School, where Kung Hsien-feng attended, pledged before your portrait: "Chairman Mao, please rest assured. We shall always win glory for you because you always supported us!"

Chairman Mao, all the new socialist things that have emerged from the revolution in the superstructure are the solid fruits of your thought, the crystallization of your exertions. We shall resolutely defend them, ardently support and nurture them so these communist buds will grow sturdily and blossom throughout the land!

III

Respected and beloved Chairman Mao, the vast numbers of workers, poor and lower-middle peasants and cadres on various fronts -- industry, communications and transport, agriculture, finance and trade -- in Shanghai have all expressed their deepest grief for you in their work, pledging to win fresh victories in grasping revolution, promoting production and other work and preparedness against war to mourn their own most respected and beloved great leader.

In these days of deep mourning, workers and staff of units that you once personally inspected -- the Shanghai No. 1 Steel Mill, the Shanghai Electric Motors Plant, the Shanghai No. 1 Cotton Mill and the Shanghai Machine Tools Plant -- firmly hold fast to their posts. They do not take their days off although it is their turn to do so, while those whose shift is over carry on as usual. During the ten days from September 9 to 19, the 2nd converter workshop of the Shanghai No. 1 Steel Mill more than doubled its average daily steel output compared with that before September 9. The average daily output of steel throughout the city also went up by 30 percent.

In these days of deep grief, the 50,000-strong army fighting a major battle at Chinshan Petrochemical General Works said tearfully: "This project of ours was personally approved by our great leader Chairman Mao. We shall let Chairman Mao down if we fail to carry it to full completion as fast as we can!" The workers of the oxidation workshop of the dacron plant turn their grief into motive power. The four day shift groups battle around the clock at the worksite, doing the work of two days in one day. The polyvinyl alcohol installation of the No. 2 Chemical Engineering Plant was put to work through the night on September 9, and on the morning of the next day polyvinyl alcohol came out. The workers and staff of the vinylon plant with tears in their eyes fought a night battle under floodlights and produced the fiber ten days ahead of schedule.

In these days of deep sorrow, the vast numbers of workers and cadres in the instruments and meters industry stepped up the production and repair of television sets so the people of the whole city and throughout the country could watch your body on the television screen. On September 10, the output of television sets by tele-communication equipment plants in Shanghai rose by 150 percent over former days. At 1:00 a.m. on September 11, Shanghai received a rush order for 300 television sets from the Tangshan area. Thereupon, all plants producing TV sets worked on a crash basis throughout the night, assembling, testing and packing. Before the crack of dawn, all 300 sets were loaded on a plane bound for Tangshan. The various television set repair workshops under the Metals, Communications and Electrical Appliances Company of the No. 1 Commercial Bureau, breaking with conventional practices from September 9 on, have offered service around the clock. In five days the number of television sets serviced by them exceeded the aggregate total in one month in the past.

In these days of deep grief, the port and railway marshalling yards in Shanghai display a particularly solemn mood. From September 9 to 19 the daily loading and unloading volume topped the planned target by 10-20 percent.

In these days of deep grief, the 18,000 workers of the Chiangnan Shipyard, to further accelerate the tempo of shipbuilding, on September 16 successfully experimented with a new technological process whereby an entire machine could be hoisted and put in place. Test runs for three 10,000-ton vessels were scheduled in advance on September 25, instead of after National

Day. The three additional 10,000-ton route-marking ships, not included in this year's state plans, were completed in succession and soon would be launched. The workers have vowed to act according to the principles you laid down, adhere to self-reliance and the "Charter of the Anshan Iron and Steel Company," take the road of Tach'ing and bring a magnificent spectacle to the seas of the motherland!

In these days of profound grief, four million commune members and poor and lower-middle peasants in the suburban areas are following the example of the Tachai peasants, battling with vigor in the fields and strengthening the field management of autumn crops. The output of summer crops gathered in Ch'ingp'u county this year went up by 32 million catties, with the early rice yielding 27 million catties more. The late rice and cotton crops throughout the county are growing luxuriantly. They expressed their determination to further deepen the criticism of Teng, overcome slackness and lethargy, and strive to attain increased yields for three consecutive seasons -- increases without precedent in history. The poor and lower-middle peasants of many brigades collected manure on a crash basis for three days and nights on end. The majority of the brigades have stored enough manure for next year's summer crops.

In these days of deep grief, the commanders and fighters of the three services stationed in Shanghai expressed their determination to carry out your behests, act according to the principles laid down by you, take further steps to implement measures related to preparedness against war, and together with the militiamen and public security fighters of the whole city stand ready at all times to wipe out all enemies who dare to intrude.

Chairman Mao, we are determined to build the motherland into a powerful socialist state and carry through the sacred cause of liberating Taiwan and unifying the motherland.

IV

Respected and beloved Chairman Mao, we understand that the most important aspect of "act according to the principles laid down" is to assiduously study your brilliant works. We shall never forget that you summed up the practical experience in the revolutionary struggles of the proletariat and the revolutionary masses in the course of waging protracted struggles against class enemies at home and abroad, inside and outside the Party, that you carried forward, defended and developed Marxism-Leninism. Your revolutionary theory, particularly the thesis of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, is the priceless thing you bequeathed on us.

Chairman Mao, we report to you that an upsurge of the mass movement to study your brilliant thought is taking shape. For the past few days, Party organizations at all levels have been studying ways and means of setting the masses in motion and organizing them to unfold the study movement. The cadres and the rank and file of many units have drawn up plans in the light of practice in revolutionary struggle to assiduously study the four volumes

of your selected works and other brilliant writings. The masses in tens of thousands have visited the site where the "First Congress" was held and reviewed the spectacular growth of our Party and our revolutionary cause under the guidance of your shining ideology with profound inspiration and renewed faith. Many comrades who had the good fortune of being received by you and many others who worked by your side recalled the past scenes with everybody else with tears in their eyes. They drew immense spiritual strength by going over your teachings once more.

Chairman Mao, once your thought is grasped by the masses of people, it becomes the fundamental guarantee for combating and preventing revisionism and winning victories for the revolutionary cause. Your teaching "Practice Marxism and not revisionism; unite, and don't split; be open and aboveboard, and don't conspire and intrigue" provides the whole Party and the revolutionary people of the whole country with a basic criterion for action. Many Party organizations, such as the Shanghai County Party Committee, the Party Committee of the Shanghai Maritime Bureau, the Party Committee of the Shanghai Turbine Works and the Party Committee of 5703 Plant, repeatedly studied the basic principles of "three dos and three don'ts." They reviewed the positive and negative experiences in the two-line struggle and expressed their determination to build the Party committee into a strong operations command for carrying out and defending your thought and line. Many Party members have studied your "three dos and three don'ts" basic principle over and over again. In recalling how they have grown under the care of your thought, they expressed their determination to strengthen the transformation of their world outlook and constantly raise their awareness of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. Many Communist Youth League members and non-Party activists likewise pledged to abide by the "three dos and three don'ts" principle and the five requirements for Party members in placing exacting demands on themselves. They submitted applications for Party membership to the Party organizations in the hope of joining at an early date the great, glorious and correct Chinese Communist Party founded by you.

Chairman Mao, to publicize and defend your brilliant thought, the comrades on the propaganda, journalistic and printing fronts have mobilized themselves these days. Forgetting about their meals and their sleep, they have toiled day and night. Those who have retired have come forward to report for work. Those who have been taken ill hold fast to their posts, ready to transmit your brilliant directives, your lofty image, and the battle orders from the Party Central Committee to the broad masses as rapidly, as timely and as accurately as possible. The workers and staff of the Shanghai Hsinhua Printing Plant employed the quickest means to typeset and printed in 21 hours over two million copies of the "Message to the Whole Party, the Whole Army and the People of All Nationalities Throughout the Country" for the Shanghai people to study. The 345 Communist Party members, Communist Youth League members, cadres and the rank and file of the plant performed voluntary labor on holidays and fulfilled the assigned task two days in advance to print your portraits.

Chairman Mao, your thought will shine forever, your line is rooted among the people and there are successors to the revolutionary undertaking pioneered by you.

Chairman Mao, people on all fronts in Shanghai are studying your works and putting your instructions into practice. Shanghai's ten million people will abide by your teachings. Under the leadership of the Party Central Committee, they will persist in taking class struggle as the key link, adhere to the Party's basic line, persistently continue the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, uphold proletarian internationalism, and carry the great revolutionary cause of the proletariat pioneered by you through to the end.

(By our own reporters)

* * *

Forever Take the "July 21" Road Charted by Chairman Mao

by

the CCP Committee of the Shanghai Machine Tools Plant

(Hsüeh-hsi yü P'i-p'an /Study and Criticism/, No. 10, September 30, 1976)

Our most respected and beloved great leader and teacher Chairman Mao has left us forever. Hearing this shocking news, all the staff and workers in our plant cannot help weeping bitterly. In these days of mourning we cannot repress our feelings of grief. No words can express our love and respect for and profound memory of Chairman Mao. Chairman Mao, you will live forever in the hearts of workers!

We shall never forget that on July 8, 1957 Chairman Mao visited our plant. That day, the weather was fine with the sun high in the blue sky. When he came to us, he held our grease-stained hands and warmly urged us to run the plant well by relying on the working class.

We shall never forget that on July 21, 1968 Chairman Mao issued his shining instruction: "It is still necessary to have universities; here I refer mainly to colleges of science and engineering. However, it is essential to shorten the length of schooling, revolutionize education, put proletarian politics in command and take the road of the Shanghai Machine Tools Plant in training technicians from among the workers. Students should be selected from among workers and peasants with practical experience, and they should return to production after a few years' study." Since then, a new chapter has been opened for the proletarian educational revolution conducted along the "July 21" road charted by Chairman Mao.

Chairman Mao's "July 21 instruction" spelled out what was on our minds. What Chairman Mao said we did. In September of that same year our plant set up its own July 21 workers college, which from the first day it was born has been heartily welcomed by the broad masses of workers. In accord with Chairman Mao's teachings, we put proletarian politics in command, take class struggle as the key link and place changing the students' thinking above all other tasks. Some people, however, said: "For the plant to send its workers propaganda team to the school is like 'mixing it with sand.' To run a July 21 workers college in the plant is like running it in a 'sand dune'." But, the "sand dune" is no typhoon shelter, for here class and line struggles likewise exist. It won't do for the students of the workers college to study straight lines and curves alone, they must first of all study the basic line of the Party. Advocating "private ownership of knowledge," Teng Hsiao-p'ing and his gang claimed that college students were no ordinary laborers and took the school as the ladder for one to climb upward. Our workers college is determined to break this concept of private ownership and dismantle this ladder. The graduates of our workers college take class struggle as the main course of study and take the lead in studying Marxism-Leninism and criticizing the bourgeoisie and

revisionism. They receive no diploma, no increase in pay, and no title of engineer or technician. They still return to production, do what the Party tells them to do, become ordinary laborers with socialist consciousness and capable of doing both mental and manual jobs at both higher and lower levels, and always preserve the colors of the working class. Eight years' practice has made us deeply realize that to take Chairman Mao's "July 21" road is to take the Communist golden road toward narrowing the three major differences, restricting bourgeois rights and eradicating the capitalist soil. We workers will never leave this road.

In accord with Chairman Mao's teachings, we adhere to the principle of integrating theory with practice and education with productive labor, teach and learn in conjunction with typical products, and closely combine teaching, productive labor and scientific research. Regularly we organize the students to go back to the shop floor to take part in productive labor or go to the countryside to learn farming. While in school, worker students of the first and second terms learned in conjunction with typical products and, together with the workers and technicians, completed the design and manufacture of more than 40 relatively important new products and scientific research projects, thereby not only improving the quality of education but also contributing to the development of production. In light of Chairman Mao's teaching "return to production after a few years' study," graduates of the workers college return to their workshops to work on the bench and do designing. They have both theory and practical experience. A graduate has changed seven jobs, doing each satisfactorily. The masses praise him as a "senior ordinary worker" and "master of all trades." There is a sharp contrast between such college graduates and "three-divorce" students trained in old colleges before the great cultural revolution.

The practice of struggle over the past 8 years has made us deeply realize that Chairman Mao's "July 21 instruction" is a grat combat program of carrying the proletarian educational revolution through to the end, a long-range plan for opposing and preventing revisionism, and a strategic measure for exercising overall proletarian dictatorship over the bourgeoisie in the educational sphere and in all other spheres of the superstructure. Before the great cultural revolution, the leadership of the majority of factories and enterprises was not in the hands of true Marxists and the worker masses. Education and science and technology were dominated by bourgeois intellectuals. How could such a situation not be revolutionized? Chairman Mao's instruction to us to take the road of training technicians from among the workers is meant to break the bourgeois monopoly of culture and science and technology, to overthrow the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie in these domains, and to let the working class occupy the superstructure under Party leadership and exercise all-round dictatorship over the bourgeoisie. That is why the "July 21" road has evoked such intense hatred and fears on the part of the bourgeoisie inside the Party. Teng Hsiao-p'ing took the lead in rabidly opposing Chairman Mao's brilliant instruction, saying preposterously: "The Shanghai Machine Tools Plant is

one form, but not the only form." How absurd! Can it be said that Chairman Mao's "July 21 instruction" is merely "one form"? No! What the "July 21 instruction" embodies is anything but a matter of "form;" it embodies the line, direction and road of the proletarian educational revolution and of the revolution in the superstructure as a whole. We are determined to work in diametrical opposition to Teng Hsiao-p'ing's revisionist line, strive to shoulder the two loads -- revolution in the economic domain and revolution in the superstructure, and turn the July 21 workers college into a powerful tool of proletarian dictatorship. We are determined not only to run the existing July 21 workers college with still greater success but also to set up July 21 workers colleges in all workshops. We have not only a college of science and engineering but also liberal arts classes. Over the past 8 years, some 150 worker students have graduated from the July 21 workers college of our plant. Some 109 worker students are studying in the college. In addition, we have kept swelling the ranks of worker technicians through a variety of ways. Now the number of technicians of worker origin in our plant has risen from about 40 percent in 1968 to 68 percent. The victories in struggle eloquently show that new socialist things are invincible and the mighty torrent of socialist revolution is irresistible!

In these days of mourning our great leader and teacher Chairman Mao, a review of our past battles has hardened our determination to take the glorious "July 21" road charted by Chairman Mao. We will turn grief into strength, carry out Chairman Mao's behests, "act according to the principles laid down," and unite more closely round the Party Central Committee. We have made up our minds to overcome all difficulties and forge ahead bravely along the broad road charted by Chairman Mao now and forever!

* * *

New Things Nurtured by Chairman Mao Will Certainly Grow Sturdily

by

Barefoot Doctors of Chiangchen Commune, Ch'uansha County /Shanghai/

(Hsüeh-hsi yü P'i-p'an /Study and Criticism/, No. 10, September 30, 1976)

September 14 this year is the 8th anniversary of the publication of the investigation report "The Orientation of Revolution in Medical Education As Seen From the Growth of 'Barefoot Doctors'," which was approved by Chairman Mao. Just as our hearts were filled with gallant spirit and pride when we were preparing a report to Chairman Mao on our fighting course over the past 8 years, like a bolt from the blue came the shocking news of Chairman Mao's death. Holding with both hands the red medicine chest handed to us by Chairman Mao, gazing at the portrait of Chairman Mao, we cannot restrain tears from rolling down our cheeks. Oh! Respected and beloved Chairman Mao, it was you who rescued us poor and lower-middle peasants from the plight where "hundreds of villages choked with weeds, men wasted away; thousands of homes deserted, ghosts chanted mournfully." It was you who supported this new socialist thing -- barefoot doctors, which relieved the shortage of medical facilities in the rural areas. Without you, how can there be us, the poor and lower-middle peasants today! Chairman Mao, Oh! Chairman Mao! You will live forever in our hearts! Your brilliant thought, like sunlight, dew and rain, will forever nurture the new socialist things in their sturdy growth!

Respected and beloved Chairman Mao, you taught us with patience and earnestness: "The question of 'for whom' is a fundamental question, a question of principle." Your teachings made us see the direction of advance. This new thing -- barefoot doctors, like other new things, is a product of your revolutionary line, created through practice by the broad revolutionary masses according to your thought. Before the great proletarian cultural revolution, Liu Shao-ch'i ganged up with Teng Hsiao-p'ing in pushing a revisionist health line. Some health departments, under the control of Party capitalist roaders, served only a few urban overlords, but not the broad working masses, and basically did not wish to overcome the serious shortage of doctors and medicines in the countryside. Under the illumination of your brilliant thought, the young shoots of this new thing -- barefoot doctors -- broke the ground and emerged. In compliance with your teaching given in "In Memory of Norman Bethune" that "utter warmth must be shown to comrades and the people," we have made an effort to achieve this goal -- "callus in our hands, mud on our feet, medicine chests on our backs, and poor and lower-middle peasants in our hearts." This road was discovered, supported and affirmed by you, and on this road we have grown and developed under your care. New socialist things are of extremely vital significance in using proletarian ideas to occupy and transform the superstructure, in narrowing the three big differences and in restricting bourgeois rights. One's attitude toward new things is

also one's attitude toward the masses of people. We barefoot doctors will go on marching along this revolutionary path.

Respected and beloved Chairman Mao, you patiently and earnestly taught us: "New and correct things in history often were not recognized by the majority when they first appeared, and could only develop through twists and turns, during struggle." Your teaching provided us with inexhaustible strength. The growth of new things is never smooth sailing, but must experience the fierce struggle between the two classes and two lines. The immediate appearance of this newborn thing, barefoot doctors, brought vicious attack from class enemies, who said: "A golden phoenix cannot fly out from a stack of wild grass. How can one with mud-smeared legs become a doctor?" On the other hand, people given to the force of old habit also said cynically: "As a rule, a good craftsman should be young and a good physician old. If a barefoot doctor could heal the sick, the yellow cat would laugh till it becomes blind." Especially, a handful of capitalist roaders in the Party who did their utmost to protect the old things took the new things as a thorn in the flesh and employed all possible means and power to expel and strangle them. Right at this moment of flying turbulent clouds and snowfall, you promptly ignited the blazing fire of the great cultural revolution, enabling the proletariat and the revolutionary people to recapture the power usurped by the handful of capitalist roaders in the Party and deeply criticize the revisionist line they pushed. In the high tide of the cultural revolution you personally commented on and approved the investigation report on barefoot doctors, fully confirmed and powerfully supported this new socialist thing. Seeing your brilliant instruction, we could not inhibit the agitation in our hearts. Raising our arms, we hailed: "Long live Chairman Mao!" "Long live the victory of the great cultural revolution!"

Victory comes from struggle, and after victory there will be new struggle. The great cultural revolution opened up broad prospects for the growth of new things. However, class struggle is of protracted nature, and so is struggle between confirmation and negation of new things. After assuming office, Teng Hsiao-p'ing, to restore capitalism in China, massacred the new things and slandered and attacked barefoot doctors. The perverse acts of Teng Hsiao-p'ing made us further recognize that the capitalist roaders in the Party are the chief culprits who strangle newborn things. We saw that to safeguard the growth of new things, it is necessary to persist with unflagging effort in criticizing the revisionist line. Over the past eight years, under your loving care, the ranks of barefoot doctors have continued to grow in struggle. Today, every production team has a health worker, and every brigade three to four barefoot doctors. The total number of barefoot doctors in the commune has increased from 28 to 77. Each brigade has set up a cooperative medical service center, and a health network has been established at every level. This new thing -- barefoot doctors, like other newborn things, has displayed infinitely bright prospects in the course of tortuous struggle.

Respected and beloved Chairman Mao, you earnestly and patiently taught us: "The supersession of the old by the new is an eternal and

irresistible law of the universe." New things appear as opposites of bourgeois old things. When they first appear, new things may be young and small and have this and that weakness or defect, but they represent the orientation of development of things and represent the future. Thus they possess great vitality. It doesn't matter that they are young and small. The development of new things always goes through a course from imperfection to relative perfection. We barefoot doctors could only heal a few simple ailments at the beginning. But through several years of practice, some of us not only have grasped more than a hundred common and frequent diseases, but also mastered fifty to sixty kinds of disease entities, including diagnosis and treatment of certain enigmatic illnesses. What is even more important is that all of us have grown rapidly politically, constituting the main force for the health revolution in the countryside. Even though there may still be twists and turns on our march, we are always convinced that the new things you nurtured and supported have the brightest future and are invincible.

Respected and beloved Chairman Mao, you adjured us meaningfully: "Act according to the principles laid down." We will never fall short of your expectations and will insist on "putting the stress on the countryside in medical and health work." We will forever maintain the colors of "barefoot" people, wholeheartedly serve the poor and lower-middle peasants, and carry through to the end the proletarian revolutionary cause you started!

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Red Guards Are Forever Loyal to Chairman Mao

by

Red Guard Corps of /Shanghai/ Municipal
No. 6 Middle School

(Hsüeh-hsi yü P'i-p'an /Study and Criticism/, No. 10, September 30, 1976)

News of the death of our great leader and teacher Chairman Mao plunges all of us Red Guard fighters into the deepest grief, and we cannot restrain our tears from rolling down our cheeks. Chairman Mao, oh, Chairman Mao! You are the Red Sun in our hearts, the Red Commander of Red Guards. In these days of nationwide mourning of your death, Red Guards, who have grown up after being nurtured by you, particularly miss you! Holding the red armband you wore before, we seem to have come again to Tienanmen Square to be reviewed by you. Respected and beloved Chairman Mao, you have not left us! Your splendid thought is immortal, and your great achievements will shine with the sun and the moon! You will live forever in the hearts of Red Guards!

"Glorious are the past years of struggle." Looking back over our fighting course, we Red Guards see that every victory is the result of Chairman Mao's close concern. When the great proletarian cultural revolution was developing in depth in 1967, it was Chairman Mao who, busy as he was, personally affirmed our experience of promoting revolutionary great alliance in the course of revolutionary mass criticism. Today, studying again Chairman Mao's teachings has made us feel even more deeply the importance of unity and struggle to the revolutionary cause. Forever loyal to Chairman Mao, we Red Guards will certainly unite most closely round the Party Central Committee, carry through to the end the struggle against the Party capitalist roaders in power, and in the course of struggle continue to strengthen revolutionary unity and advance bravely toward communism.

To unite is for the purpose of carrying out struggle. The history of the Red Guard movement has been a history of Chairman Mao leading the millions and millions of masses to unite in struggle against the capitalist roaders in the Party. In 1966, when the curtain was raised for the great proletarian cultural revolution, the bourgeois headquarters headed by Liu Shao-ch'i and Teng Hsiao-p'ing vainly attempted to strangle the budding Red Guard movement. At this moment, Chairman Mao personally wrote a letter to the Red Guards of the middle school attached to the Tsinghua University, warmly supporting our revolutionary action that "it is right to rebel against the reactionaries." Moreover, on eight separate occasions he received the Red Guard fighters from all parts of the country. Chairman Mao's support added to our unlimited strength and valor. The hundred million Red Guard fighters, like sunflowers turned toward the sun, united closely round the Party Central Committee headed by Chairman Mao and formed a massive revolutionary army. Amid the song of victory for the proletarian revolutionaries united in struggle, the capitalist roaders in the Party were defeated and retreated at every turn and the great cultural revolution rolled forward! The Red Guard corps of our school began to develop

from a few persons to tens and hundreds. With the revolutionary contingent continuing to expand, we won one victory after another. However, for a time later, due to the interference and sabotage of the bourgeois reactionary line, our school was split into six Red Guard organizations and dozens of fighting groups. But under Chairman Mao's close concern, we re-united to deal with the enemies jointly, and it was then that a brand new phase appeared in the great cultural revolution in the school. Experiences, both positive and negative, enabled us to understand that having a single will, we can move Mount T'ai and closely united we can march forward. Without unity there will be no victory. To continue the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat and go on winning still greater victories, it is important that the revolutionary forces keep strengthening their unity.

While uniting for struggle, struggle promotes unity. Revolutionary unity means unity based on Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, and this unity can only be consolidated and established in the struggle against the capitalist roaders in the Party. In 1967, Chairman Mao personally affirmed the experience of our school, that is, the realization of revolutionary great alliance and great unity in the struggle against the biggest capitalist roader in the Party, Liu Shao-ch'i. At the outset, as we did not properly direct the spearhead of struggle at Liu Shao-ch'i, each of us sang his own tune and fired his own shot. We were unable to unite. Then penetrating and sustained revolutionary mass criticism made us realize that this phenomenon of disunity among the Red Guards was due to the sabotage by Liu Shao-ch'i and his bourgeois reactionary line. It was he who, to protect a handful of revisionists, shifted the general orientation of struggle, incited the masses to struggle against each other and created conflicts among the students. It was he who advocated the reactionary blood relationship theory of the exploiting classes, hoodwinked a small number of students and created barriers between students. Liu Shao-ch'i was the chief culprit in undermining revolutionary unity! So, we turned all our guns on Liu Shao-ch'i and penetratingly criticized his bourgeois reactionary line. Having found out our common enemy, we quickly distinguished right from wrong, clarified our thinking, raised our consciousness, removed the barriers and arrived at new unity on the basis of Mao Tsetung Thought. On the road of advance, contradictions and differences of view are unavoidable within the revolutionary ranks. But as long as we persistently criticize the bourgeoisie and revisionism and direct the spearhead of struggle at the arch enemies, the capitalist roaders in the Party, we shall have a common basis, common sentiments and a common language; we shall be able to raise our understanding of all sorts of petty bourgeois ideas from the plane of proletarian revolution, remove our differences, unify our steps, cooperate with one another and unite on the basis of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line. At present, we must take class struggle as the key link, concentrate on criticism of Teng Hsiao-p'ing, continue to develop in a deepgoing and sustained manner the struggle to repulse the Right deviationist wind to reverse verdicts, and under the great objective of criticizing Teng Hsiao-p'ing, consolidate the great unity of the whole Party, the whole army and the people of all nationalities throughout the country and accelerate the progress of socialist undertakings in all fields.

Revolutionary unity should be unity of the vast majority of people, not unity of only a few people. This demands that we set great store by the revolutionary interests, proceed from the general situation and be mindful of uniting all forces that can be united with. In his letter to the Red Guards, Chairman Mao said: "The proletariat must liberate not only itself but the whole mankind as well. Without liberating the whole of mankind, the proletariat cannot ultimately liberate itself." The target of struggle which unites the proletariat is to liberate the whole of mankind and to realize the magnificent communism in the whole world. Therefore, we should have a great spirit and broad-mindedness, unite with the vast majority of people to make revolution and advance together. Looking back, wasn't it true that the revolutionary great alliance of the Red Guards in our school in 1967 was realized on the basis of uniting the teachers and students of the entire school? Red Guards are revolutionary successors, and to carry out Chairman Mao's behests, we must act according to the five requirements for revolutionary successors and on the road of revolution always see to it that "we must not only unite with those whose opinions are the same as ours but also be good at uniting with those whose opinions differ from ours as well as uniting with those who have opposed us before and whose mistakes have been proven by practice."

Chairman Mao was the red commander of Red Guards, and Red Guards are forever loyal to Chairman Mao. We Red Guards were born under Chairman Mao's close concern and have grown up following Chairman Mao in struggling against the capitalist roaders within the Party. Chairman Mao has passed away, but our loyalty to him will never change. "Turn grief into strength and the standard will be carried forward." In this moment of incomparable grief, we swear solemnly to Chairman Mao: We are determined to unite most closely round the Party Central Committee and forever march forward bravely along the revolutionary course charted by you!

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This Party of Ours Has a Bright Future

- Some understanding from studying "On the People's Democratic Dictatorship"

by

Ch'i Yung-hung (齐永红)

(Hsüeh-hsi yü P'i-p'an /Study and Criticism/, No. 10, September 30, 1976)

Our great leader and teacher Chairman Mao has left us forever. From the banks of the Heilung River to the Hainan Islands, from the shore of the East Sea to the foot of the T'ienshan Mountains, the whole Party, the whole army and the people of all nationalities throughout the country, facing Chairman Mao's portrait, take one and the same vow: We shall carry out Chairman Mao's behests, turn grief into strength, and always march forward bravely along Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line. This oath gives full expression to the strong determination of the 800 million Chinese people to carry through to the end the continued revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, demonstrating as it does the inevitability of victory of the proletarian revolutionary cause pioneered by Chairman Mao.

The great leader Chairman Mao once asserted while he was alive: "This Party of ours has a bright future." Chairman Mao's words were filled with his earnest expectations of our Party and his faith in the inevitable victory of the revolutionary cause. Today, the Chinese Communist Party, nurtured with Mao Tsetung Thought, will certainly consummate the proletarian revolutionary cause started by Chairman Mao and lead the people of the whole nation to strive to fulfill the Party's basic program for the complete overthrow of the bourgeoisie and all other exploiting classes, the replacement of the bourgeois dictatorship by the proletarian dictatorship, the triumph of socialism over capitalism, and the ultimate realization of communism.

This Party of ours has a bright future because it is a party armed with Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought. The 55 years of the Chinese Communist Party have been 55 years in which Chairman Mao increasingly integrated the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of the Chinese revolution. As Chairman Mao said in "On the People's Democratic Dictatorship," "The Communist Party of China is no longer a child or a lad in his teens but has become an adult." It may be recalled that before Marxism-Leninism spread to China, numerous heart-stirring struggles involving the sacrifice of fine men and women were carried out in the badly battered China, but they all ended in failure. It may be recalled that in its infancy, our Party had only a shallow and crude understanding of Marxism-Leninism. But since the great leader Chairman Mao concretely applied the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism to the practice of the Chinese revolution and creatively developed Marxism-Leninism, the complexion of the Chinese revolution underwent tremendous

changes. During the period of the new democratic revolution Chairman Mao correctly analyzed for our Party the past and current conditions of China and the principal contradictions in Chinese society; he correctly answered questions concerning the target, tasks, motive power, nature, future and transformation of China's new democratic revolution and laid down the general line and general policy for this revolution; and he pointed out the road of armed struggle, i.e., establishing rural base areas, encircling cities from the countryside and finally seizing cities. He led the people of the whole country to win the great victory of the new democratic revolution and found the Chinese People's Republic. In the period of the socialist revolution Chairman Mao again comprehensively summed up both the positive and negative experience of the international communist movement and profoundly analyzed the class relations in socialist society; it was he who, in the history of development of Marxism, pointed out for the first time that classes and class struggle still exist following the basic completion of the socialist transformation of the ownership of the means of production, made the scientific assertion that the bourgeoisie is right in the Communist Party, set forth the great theory of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, and formulated the basic line of the Party for the whole of the socialist historical period, thereby enabling our Party to win the great victories in socialist revolution and construction, particularly the great victories in the great proletarian cultural revolution, the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius and the movement to criticize Teng Hsiao-p'ing and repulse the Right deviationist wind to reverse verdicts. Great leader Chairman Mao's major development of Marxism in revolutionary practice is not only a precious spiritual asset of the Chinese people and the world's people, the strength and source for our Party to carry on the revolution and the basic guarantee for combating and preventing revisionism, but it is also an indication that our Party both in practice and in theory has become a mature party, a party with a bright future. Today, although Chairman Mao has passed away, Mao Tsetung Thought is immortal. Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought will surely shine on the path of our Party's victorious advance now and forever.

Our Party has a bright future also because it is a party which has been tempered and grown amid struggle, a party which has long been tested. For more than half a century, our Party, guided by Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, has carried out long and repeated trials of strength with all sorts of class enemies inside and outside the Party, at home and abroad, armed and unarmed, overt and covert. As Chairman Mao said in "On the People's Democratic Dictatorship," this Party of ours "passed through these twenty-eight years not in peace but amid hardships, for we had to fight enemies, both foreign and domestic, both inside and outside the Party." For a party such as ours to go through all kinds of revolutionary storms and hardships is something rare even in the history of the proletarian revolutionary movement. However, the white terror, planes and guns of the Kuomintang reactionaries did not extinguish our Party, the blockade and high-handed policies of imperialists and social-imperialists did not crush our Party, and the intrigues and conspiracies of chieftains of the revisionist lines within the Party did not split our Party. On the contrary, it was precisely amid the fighting against class enemies both

at home and abroad and both inside and outside the Party and in the long, arduous and sharp class struggle and struggle between the two lines that our Party, accumulating rich struggle experiences, has become stronger and more mature. From several dozen communists cells, our Party has developed into a party with more than 30 million members leading the Chinese People's Republic today, a party which has discipline and is armed with Marxist-Leninist theory, which adopts the method of self-criticism and maintains close ties with the masses of people, into a great, glorious and correct Marxist-Leninist party. History has already proved and will continue to prove that it has not been easy and will not be easy to crush this Party of ours. No matter what hardships, hazards and violent storms may appear on the road of advance, given the guidance of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, we shall surely be able to go from victory to victory.

This Party of ours has a bright future also because it is a party which finds its deep root among the broad masses of the people. The proletariat our Party represents is a revolutionary class which is "most far-sighted, impartial and selfless and has the greatest revolutionary thoroughness" in the history of mankind. As the Chinese proletarians suffered deeply from oppression under the weight of the three big mountains in the old society and the gravity and brutality of such oppression was rarely seen among the various nations in the world, they have always been most thorough and resolute in revolutionary struggle. Our Party is composed of the advanced elements of this great class; it is not an ordinary proletarian mass organization but a vigorous vanguard organization which leads the proletariat and the revolutionary people in the fight against class enemies. Moreover, in the prolonged struggle our Party has always had unreserved faith in the masses and relied on them, sticking to the mass line of "from the masses, back to the masses." Particularly since the advent of the great proletarian cultural revolution, our Party has acted according to Chairman Mao's teaching "a line or a viewpoint must be discussed constantly and repeatedly. It won't do to explain it to only a few; it must be explained to the broad revolutionary masses." By doing so, it has fully mobilized hundreds of millions of masses to participate in the great proletarian cultural revolution, in the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius and in the struggle to criticize Teng Hsiao-p'ing and repulse the Right deviationist wind to reverse verdicts. It has carried out one widespread Marxist education movement after another, thereby helping the broad masses of people to raise their consciousness of class struggle, line struggle and continuing the revolution under proletarian dictatorship and increase their ability to distinguish true Marxism from sham. This has enabled our Party to form a blood and flesh relationship with the masses of people on the ideological and political line and share the weal and woe with them. Such a relationship between our Party and the masses of people is precisely an important guarantee for defeating the bourgeoisie inside and outside the Party and keeping our Party and state from changing color. Didn't the chieftains of the revisionist line, Liu Shao-ch'i, Lin Piao and Teng Hsiao-p'ing, run amuck for a time? However, once the masses who mastered Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought rose to action, they fell one after the other. Hence,

as long as we firmly trust and rely on the broad masses of the working class and the people, we shall never be crushed by any enemy but will triumph and overwhelm all enemies.

One more reason why our Party has a bright future is that it has from first to last thoroughly stuck to revolutionary dialectics and dared to openly recognize and expose the inner-Party bourgeoisie. The historical experience of the proletarian dictatorship tells us that whether a proletarian party can persist in struggle and in particular whether it can persist in inner-Party struggle is an important indication of whether it has a thorough revolutionary character. That is why Chairman Mao has all along stressed: "If there were no contradictions in the Party and no ideological struggles to resolve them, the Party's life would come to an end." Chairman Mao also stated: "A proletarian party must exhale the stale and take in the fresh before it can have vitality and vigor. Without eliminating the waste and taking in fresh blood, the Party will have no vigor." Chairman Mao also analyzed the changes of the class relations and the characteristics of class struggle in the socialist period, clearly setting forth the wise thesis that the bourgeoisie "is right in the Communist Party -- those in power taking the capitalist road." It was under Chairman Mao's leadership that our Party persisted in unfolding the two-line struggle, continued to expose and purge the inner-Party capitalist roaders like Liu Shao-ch'i, Lin Piao and Teng Hsiao-p'ing. Only this made our Party stronger, purer, more vigorous. Therefore, the appearance of the bourgeoisie in the Party in the socialist period is not something fearful; what is fearful is that we may not see the enemies, do not know where the target of socialist revolution is, and lower our revolutionary guard ideologically. "When the enemy exists, disaster lurks; when the enemy is gone, the scene assumes a new appearance." This is a truth. That our Party dares to recognize and uncover the inner-Party bourgeoisie precisely shows that our Party has confidence and strength, that our Party is a vigorous party with a thorough revolutionary character. On the contrary, the Soviet revisionist renegade clique and all revisionist parties dare not recognize class struggle, and in particular they dare not recognize the existence of the bourgeoisie inside the Party. The reason is that they themselves represent the decadent and declining classes. To recognize this fact is to recognize their own doom.

In "On the People's Democratic Dictatorship," Chairman Mao said: "Communists the world over are wiser than the bourgeoisie, they understand the laws governing the existence and development of things, they understand dialectics and they can see farther." Proletarians are revolutionary optimists. We understand and believe in dialectics. We are convinced that the socialist system will eventually replace the capitalist system, an objective law independent of people's will. No matter how tortuous the road of revolution may be and how many reversals will occur, the truth of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought will surely shine forever. The masses of people who account for over 95 percent of the total population always want revolution. Therefore, at all times the proletariat always

looks forward, sees the bright future ahead, sees the victories and sees the great prospects of the revolution. More than a century ago, when the proletariat began to mount the historical stage and was faced with a bourgeoisie a thousand times stronger, our revolutionary teachers made the splendid prediction that "the extinction of the bourgeoisie and the triumph of the proletariat are equally inevitable." For the past more than a century, the old world has been smashed into pieces and socialism has been advancing victoriously everywhere. Under the guidance of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, our Party and our state have never been so consolidated and strong. The socialist new-born things watered by Chairman Mao himself are growing sturdily like bamboo shoots after a spring rain. The people of the whole country are in high spirits, militant and proud. Looking ahead to the excellent situation where the world is turned upside down, we are full of revolutionary pride. The future will definitely belong to the emerging proletariat, and our Party has a bright future.

When Marx, the revolutionary teacher of the proletariat, passed away, Engels observed confidently that "the movement will surely go on developing along its own road." ("To E. Bernstein") Today, as long as we follow Chairman Mao's adjuration, "Act according to the principles laid down," unite closely round the Party Central Committee, keep to class struggle as the key link, adhere to the Party's basic line, persevere in continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, and uphold proletarian internationalism, we shall certainly be able to carry through to the end the proletarian revolutionary cause pioneered by Chairman Mao.

Our goal must be attained.

Our goal will certainly be attained.

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The Red Flag of Revolution Will Flutter Forever

- Some understanding from studying "A Single Spark Can Start a Prairie Fire"

by

Yen Feng (延风)

(Hsüeh-hsi yü P'i-p'an /Study and Criticism/, No. 10, September 30, 1976)

In these days of mourning the death of our great leader and teacher Chairman Mao, we re-read, with the deepest sorrow, Chairman Mao's splendid work "A Single Spark Can Start a Prairie Fire" (hereafter "Spark" for short).

"Spark" was written by Chairman Mao in 1930 during the period of the struggle in the Chingkang Mountains in criticism of certain Right opportunist and pessimistic views espoused by Lin Piao. In 1927, the Great Revolution, which began vigorously, ended in failure after Chiang Kai-shek, representative of the big landlords and big bourgeoisie, betrayed the revolution and the Right opportunists represented by Ch'en Tu-hsiu within the Party pursued a capitulationist line. Heart-rending sounds of gunfire rose along the banks of the Whampoa River; the three towns of Wuhan were washed in blood. The whole of the country was engulfed in white terror. The Chinese revolution was at a temporary low ebb. Where did China go? Where did the revolution go? What were Communists to do? This became the focal point of the two-line struggle within the Party at that time. Ch'en Tu-hsiu, the Right opportunist chieftain, was pessimistic and disappointed about the revolution, lamenting the end of the Chinese revolution. Ch'ü Ch'iu-pai, representative of "Left" putschism, denied the failure of the Great Revolution and called for immediately launching uprisings in the cities, which had no hope of victory, to welcome the so-called "continuous high tide of the revolution." On the other hand, Lin Piao, echoing Ch'en Tu-hsiu's Right opportunism, lost his confidence in the great cause of the Chinese revolution, saying nonsensically "the situation is not optimistic" and "the future is very uncertain;" he even deceptively raised the question, "How long will the red flag be flying?"

At this crucial juncture, the great leader Chairman Mao, with the boldness and foresight of a proletarian revolutionary, severely refuted Lin Piao's pessimistic views and proudly set forth the sagacious thesis that "a single spark can start a prairie fire." A year ago Chairman Mao already commented on the major significance that "the red flag in the border region will never fall," and now at this time he further observed: "All China is littered with dry faggots which will soon be aflame. The saying, 'a single spark can start a prairie fire,' is an apt description of how the current situation will develop. We need only look at the strikes by the workers, the uprisings by the peasants, the mutinies of soldiers and the strikes of students which are developing in many places to see that it cannot be long before a 'spark' kindles a prairie fire." This scientific prediction was later fully confirmed by the development of history.

"Spark" generalizes the objective law governing the development of the revolution. Marxism holds: Revolution is bound to triumph over reaction, and new-born things are bound to triumph over decadent forces, and the substitution of the revolutionary red flag for the counter-revolutionary white flag is an inexorable trend of historical development. Nevertheless, "history usually develops in a tortuous course." (Lenin, "Against the Boycott") Every great revolution, at the time it begins, is always in a relatively weak position, like a single spark in a long dark night. Whether one can foresee the radiant dawn in the stormy dark night, the incomparably strong vitality and infinitely broad future of new-born things while they are temporarily small and weak, and correctly view all sorts of difficulties in the course of the revolution -- this is a stern test for each and every revolutionary as well as an important hallmark distinguishing Marxists from opportunists. Even given the development and victory of the revolution, there may still appear all kinds of new difficulties and twists and turns and there is still the question of whether one believes that the red flag will continue to fly, a question which often assumes a more acute form particularly when the revolution deepens or is at a turning point.

"Revolutionaries," Lenin observed, "are not people who become revolutionary when revolution has arrived, but people who defend the principles and slogans of revolution at a time when the reactionary forces are most rampant and the liberals and democrats are most oscillatory." ("Comment of a Publicist") Revolutionaries are never afraid of violent storms, and violent storms can temper revolutionaries, making their will stronger, arousing their pride and increasing their abilities. Without twists and turns and without pressure, revolution will not be what it is. At the same time, violent storms also are most capable of exposing the ugly features of opportunists. As representatives of declining classes, opportunists and revisionists do not understand historical dialectics and cannot draw their militant pride from the future. They always over-estimate the strength of the enemies and under-estimate the strength of the revolution; they lose their direction in foggy weather, fail to hear the sound of the rapid current in a snowbound river, lose their guts in the face of difficulties and twists and turns, and see the situation as hope-less, thinking that the land is going to sink and the red flag can fly no longer. Ideological pessimism necessarily leads to political defeatism and liquidationism. This has all been the case from Ch'en Tu-hsiu, Wang Ming and Chang Kuo-t'ao to Liu Shao-ch'i, Lin Piao and Teng Hsiao-p'ing.

"Nothing is more deplorable than the loss of confidence." Loss of confidence in the revolution implies the end of one's political life and the beginning of one's going downhill. Opportunists always look for their own captives by spreading pessimistic and despondent moods. But opposite is the case of revolutionaries; "when they climb a mountain, they fill it with their pride; when they look down on the sea, they fill it with their militant feeling;" whatever the circumstances they always preserve revo-lutionary optimism. In this splendid work "Spark," Chairman Mao, from the plane of the world outlook, summed up the experience of the two-line struggle within the Party at that time and profoundly analyzed the

ideological source of pessimism. Pessimists, he found, proceeded from idealism and metaphysics; when evaluating the current situation, they were so bewildered by transient phenomena of the floating dark clouds in the skies that they failed to see that the various contradictions that brought about the high tide of revolution were developing forward; when observing the relative balance of power between the enemy and ourselves, they were so frightened by the arrogance of reactionaries that they failed to see that they were no more than paper tigers, strong outwardly but weak inwardly; when analyzing revolutionary strategy, they exaggerated momentary setbacks as total defeat once they lost a battle and were besieged on all sides or pursued by the strong enemies. In view of this, Chairman Mao pointed out sharply: "When we look at a thing, we must examine its essence and treat its appearance merely as an usher at the threshold." The essence of a thing regulates its nature and the direction of its development and plays the dominating role. Even though it may sometimes be covered up by some superficial phenomena, this does not last long. For instance, the Yellow River goes through numerous bends and suffers from many twists and turns and backlash in its long journey, but it eventually flows to the sea, toward the east where the sun rises. This is a general trend that no one can change.

Are you convinced that the red flag will fly permanently? In the final analysis, this is a question of whether or not you recognize the masses of people as makers of history. Right opportunists represented by Ch'en Tu-hsiu believed that the Chinese proletarians were scattered and immature and that "socialist revolution" could only be carried out some time in the future, and so they were scared out of their wits by the attack of reactionaries. Lin Piao held that since the Chinese people had not yet awakened, it would be "futile" to carry out the hard work of establishing revolutionary political power. In the three-year period of natural calamities, Liu Shao-ch'i, since he was blind to the vast socialist enthusiasm of the masses of people, took the temporary difficulties for "a catastrophe impending" and declared that China was "on the verge of collapse." Teng Hsiao-p'ing, inasmuch as he is hostile to the 800 million Chinese people with their vigorous creative spirit, slanders the excellent situation of "everywhere orioles sing, swallows dart" created since the great proletarian cultural revolution as "long-standing habits difficult to correct." Their miscalculations of the future of the revolution are due to the fact that, standing on the side opposite to the masses of people, they view the situation with the idealist conception of history. On the contrary, Marxists pin their hopes on the people, and since they are convinced that "only the emerging proletarians can have a future," they are able to "hear the roaring thunder where it is quiet." Under all circumstances they are able to have unwavering faith in the masses, rely on them, respect their pioneering spirit, and with them push history forward. As early as more than a century ago Marx and Engels made the splendid assertion that "the extinction of the bourgeoisie and the victory of the proletariat are equally inevitable." While still a young man, Lenin proudly proclaimed in face of the dark rule of the Tsar: "Give us a revolutionary organization and we will overturn Russia." Even more so, our great leader and teacher Chairman Mao set for us the shining model of a revolutionary. As early as the ten-year civil

war period, he awakened the millions upon millions of the masses with his scientific assertion in "Spark;" in the Yenan period, he inspired the fighting will of the army and people throughout the whole nation to resist Japan with his teaching "a bright future lies ahead;" and in the initial period of the War of Liberation, he again encouraged us to plant red flags all over China with the prediction that "the future is bright."

From the time Chairman Mao wrote "Spark" to the present day, 46 years have elapsed. The Chinese Communist Party personally founded by Chairman Mao has developed from several dozen communist cells to a great party with more than 30 million members today and led the 800 million Chinese people, under the guidance of Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line, to win the great victories in socialist revolution and socialist construction, particularly the great victories in the great proletarian cultural revolution, the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius, and the movement to criticize Teng Hsiao-p'ing and repulse the Right deviationist wind to reverse verdicts. From the first red flag planted atop the Chingkang Mountains to persisting in socialism and consolidating the proletarian dictatorship in the Chinese People's Republic with vast land and a large population, the pace of revolution has been very rapid indeed!

Today, although Chairman Mao has left us forever, Mao Tsetung Thought will always shine on our path. Chairman Mao adjured us: "Act according to the principles laid down." At this moment of mourning Chairman Mao's death with profound sorrow, we must turn our grief into strength, unite closely round the Party Central Committee, and carry through to the end the proletarian revolutionary cause pioneered by Chairman Mao.

The great red flag of Mao Tsetung Thought will surely flutter high in the air, and will flutter forever!

* * *

Our Contingent Turns to the Sun

- Some understanding from studying "Problems of War and Strategy"

by

K'ang Li (康 立)

(Hsüeh-hsi yü P'i-p'an /Study and Criticism/, No. 10, September 30, 1976)

"Forward, forward, forward! Our contingent turns to the sun...."

This heart-stirring song reveals the unbounded devotion of the people's army to Chairman Mao and to the Communist Party and its firm resolve to advance bravely along Chairman Mao's revolutionary line. At the sad moment of deeply mourning the death of the great leader Chairman Mao, we study again this splendid work by Chairman Mao, "Problems of War and Strategy." The Chinese people show still greater love for their own soldiers and attach more importance to the call issued by Chairman Mao before his death, "The whole country should learn from the People's Liberation Army."

Sailing in the high seas depends on the helmsman, the growth of all things depends on the sun. As the army of the proletariat, the Chinese People's Liberation Army was personally founded and directly led by the great leader Chairman Mao. In "Problems of War and Strategy," Chairman Mao pointed out: "Every Communist should understand this truth: 'Political power grows out of the barrel of a gun.'" For this reason, Chairman Mao all along attached great importance to the building of the people's army. After Chiang Kai-shek engineered the "April 12" counter-revolutionary coup, in the midst of white terror Chairman Mao personally led the Autumn Harvest Uprising and established the first rural revolutionary base area in the Chingkang Mountains. In the difficult years of the agrarian revolutionary war, Chairman Mao led the Workers and Peasants Red Army to smash again and again the Kuomintang reactionaries' "encirclement and suppression" campaigns against the revolutionary base areas and successfully complete the world famous Long March of 25,000 li. After eight years of bloody fighting, our Eighth Route and New Fourth Armies, led by Chairman Mao, defeated the Japanese imperialist aggression by relying on people's war. Our People's Liberation Army, led by Chairman Mao and with millet plus rifles, defeated 8 million Chiang bandit troops equipped with planes and cannon, overthrew the three big mountains that weighed down on the Chinese people and founded a new China with guns. After the founding of the People's Republic, Chairman Mao again led us to successfully conduct the Resist-US and Aid-Korea War and effectively hit back at the armed provocations of Soviet revisionist social-imperialism and reactionaries of various countries, thus safeguarding the red land of socialism. In the great proletarian cultural revolution, our people's army, following Chairman Mao's instructions, participated in "three-supports and two-militaries" and won fresh merit for the people. Over the past decades,

our army has grown in number and in strength, becoming invincible wherever it goes by relying on the leadership of Chairman Mao and the Party Central Committee, and on Mao Tsetung Thought.

Our contingent turns to the sun because our army is a revolutionary contingent boundlessly loyal to the people and to the Party. In the revolutionary war years, Chairman Mao always exhorted us: "All officers and men of our whole army must constantly remember that we are a great people's liberation army, a contingent led by the great Chinese Communist Party." In the course of founding our army, Chairman Mao unwaveringly saw to it that the army was placed under the absolute leadership of the Party and emphasized that the proletarian army must be subordinate to the absolute leadership of the proletarian political party. At the time of regrouping at Sanwan the forces led by Chairman Mao after the Autumn Harvest Uprising, Party branches were set up in the companies, the system of Party representation was enforced, and the Party's leadership over the armed forces was established. In the course of establishing the Chingkangshan base areas, Chairman Mao again pointed out: For the Red Army, "the question of leadership of proletarian ideology is one of vital importance." He clearly defined "China's Red Army as an armed body for carrying out the political tasks of the revolution" and reaffirmed the important principle of "setting up Party branches in the companies." In "Problems of War and Strategy," Chairman Mao further pointed out emphatically: "Our principle is that the Party commands the gun, and the gun must never be allowed to command the Party." This series of brilliant army-building ideas of Chairman Mao's distinguishes the proletarian army from the armies of the exploiting classes and truly identifies it as a people's army having flesh-and-blood relations with the broad masses of the people. For more than 40 years, our people's army, guided by Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, has been both a fighting force and a work and propaganda force. In a remarkable way it has accomplished various political tasks assigned by the Party, becoming a powerful tool of the proletariat and the laboring people for seizing political power and consolidating it. In the wake of the great proletarian cultural revolution, the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius, and the great struggle to criticize Teng and repulse the Right deviationist wind to reverse verdicts, this glorious tradition has been further carried forward. Our people's army is now setting an example for the people of the whole country, it has closely rallied round the Party Central Committee, subordinated all its actions to the command of the Party Central Committee and is marching in step to win fresh victories.

Our contingent turns to the sun also because our army was established on the basis of Chairman Mao's line on army building. In "Problems of War and Strategy," Chairman Mao pointed out: "In 17 years of struggle the Chinese Communist Party has not only forged a firm Marxist political line but also has fashioned a firm Marxist military line." Our army has grown in strength, nurtured by Mao Tsetung Thought, with the Party's basic line serving as the life-blood of all kinds of work undertaken by our army. In socialist society there are classes, class contradictions and class struggle, there is the struggle between the socialist and capitalist roads, and there is the danger of capitalist restoration. Class enemies at home and abroad will never be

reconciled to their defeat and will vainly try to overthrow the dictatorship of the proletariat through armed subversion or "peaceful evolution." Our army is committed to the glorious task of combating restoration internally and opposing aggression externally. For this reason, criticizing the bourgeoisie, especially the bourgeoisie inside the Party represented by Teng Hsiao-p'ing, has become our army's unshirkable responsibility. "The correctness or incorrectness of the ideological and political line decides everything." Our people's army has for decades firmly and consistently carried out Chairman Mao's line on army building. In abiding by Chairman Mao's adjuration, "Act according to the principles laid down," our army is educating the vast numbers of commanders and fighters with Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought, strengthening army and militia building, further strengthening preparedness against war, maintaining a heightened sense of vigilance, preparing at all times to wipe out all intruding enemies and making new contributions to the cause of consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat and safeguarding the socialist motherland.

Our contingent turns to the sun also because our army is the people's army, a revolutionary contingent wholeheartedly devoted to serving the people. Chairman Mao once pointed out: "The sole purpose of this army is to stand firmly with the Chinese people and to serve them wholeheartedly." This purpose decides that our army "must be one with the people" and adhere to the principle of "unity between the army and people and unity between the army and government," firmly implementing "the three major rules of discipline and eight points for attention," sharing weal and woe with the broad masses of the people in striving to advance socialist revolution and construction. Because for decades the vast numbers of commanders and fighters of our army have resolutely carried out the principle of building the army put forward by Chairman Mao, innumerable Communist fighters like Chang Ssu-te and Lei Feng who devoted themselves to the public good without any thought of self, heroes like Tung Ts'un-jui and Huang Chi-kuang who dared to crush the enemies without being subjugated by them, and advanced units like the "incorruptible and stainless" "Good Eighth Company on Nanking Road" have emerged. Teng Hsiao-p'ing alleged that "Uncle Lei Feng has dropped out of sight" in a bid to blacken the people's army. This will never be permitted by our people's army and the revolutionary people. The Chinese people will never permit the commanders of the bourgeoisie inside the Party like Teng Hsiao-p'ing to vilify the people's own troops. The green pine trees are nourished by sunshine and rain while heroes are nurtured by Mao Tsetung Thought, which will forever illuminate our road of advance toward revolution. There will be successors to the revolutionary undertaking of the proletariat pioneered by Chairman Mao. Led by the Party Central Committee, our people's army will surely bring up more and more heroes who dedicate themselves to the defense of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line.

The great Chinese People's Liberation Army is a proletarian army personally founded and nurtured by Chairman Mao. Our people's army has over the past decades firmly implemented and defended Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, setting a shining example for the people of the whole

country. Chairman Mao called upon "the whole country to learn from the People's Liberation Army." In the course of learning from the Liberation Army, what is most important is that we must learn from the Liberation Army subordinating all its actions to the Party. In industry, agriculture, commerce, education and military affairs, in the east, west, south, north and center, "the Party exercises leadership in everything." We must today closely rally round the Party Central Committee and continue to take the revolutionary road opened up by Chairman Mao. Led by the Party Central Committee, we must deepen the criticism of Teng Hsiao-p'ing's revisionist line and carry the struggle to beat back the Right deviationist wind to reverse verdicts through to the end.

Forward, forward, forward, our contingent turns to the sun. The sun is Chairman Mao, the Communist Party. Under the leadership of the Party Central Committee, let us, along Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, march bravely forward, forward, forward!

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Adhere to the Five Criteria for Revolutionary Successors

- Study Chairman Mao's thesis on raising successors to the revolution

by

Fang Hai (方 海)

(Hsüeh-hsi yü P'i-p'an /Study and Criticism/, No. 10, September 30, 1976)

Raising and training successors to the proletarian revolutionary cause is a major question that bears on whether it is possible to carry through to the end the continued revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. Chairman Mao once observed: "To insure that our Party and state will not change color, we not only need a correct line and policies, but must raise and train millions upon millions of successors to the proletarian revolutionary cause." Today, at a moment when the people of the whole country are painfully mourning the death of our great leader and teacher Chairman Mao, it is vitally significant for us to make a serious study of Chairman Mao's thesis on raising successors to the proletarian revolutionary cause, to raise revolutionary successors according to the five criteria laid down by Chairman Mao, and so to carry through to the end the proletarian revolutionary cause pioneered by Chairman Mao.

Chairman Mao's five criteria for raising successors to the proletarian revolutionary cause were put forward in accord with the Party's basic line and on the basis of summing up the historical experience of the dictatorship of the proletariat at home and abroad. These five criteria are: Practice Marxism, and not revisionism; work for the well being of the vast majority of people in China and the world; unite with the vast majority of people to work together; consult the masses on matters of common concern; and bravely make criticism and self-criticism. The most important of these five criteria is to practice Marxism, and not revisionism. "The correctness or incorrectness of the ideological and political line decides everything." Whether socialist revolution can be carried through to the end and whether capitalism may be restored depends, most basically, on whether there is a Marxist line. Practice of Marxism is also the first of the three principles set forth by Chairman Mao, namely, "practice Marxism, and not revisionism; unite, and don't split; and be open and aboveboard, and don't intrigue and conspire." He who practices Marxism and wholeheartedly works for the well being of the vast majority of people in China and the world will be able to unite the vast majority of people, carry out the Party's democratic centralism in an exemplary manner, maintain close ties with the masses, and make criticism and self-criticism boldly. On the other hand, he who practices revisionism and works for the well being of the exploiting-class minority is bound to practice sectarianism, engineer splits, divorce himself from the masses, resort to intrigues and conspiracies, and stick to the erroneous line. Didn't chieftains of the revisionist line like Liu Shao-ch'i, Lin Piao and Teng Hsiao-p'ing do just

that? For this reason, in raising and selecting revolutionary successors, we must first of all see whether they practice Marxism and adhere to Chairman Mao's revolutionary line so as to insure that the leadership of our Party and state at various levels is forever held in the hands of genuine Marxists who truly become vanguards leading the broad masses in the fight against class enemies and to strive for the complete overthrow of the bourgeoisie and all other exploiting classes, the replacement of the bourgeois dictatorship by the proletarian dictatorship, the triumph of socialism over capitalism and the ultimate realization of communism.

The historical experience of proletarian dictatorship proves that whether we can raise and select successors to the revolutionary cause in accordance with the five criteria advanced by Chairman Mao has a bearing on the hundred-year plan of the proletarian revolutionary cause. In order to restore capitalism in China, all opportunists invariably do their utmost to distort and tamper with Chairman Mao's five criteria for raising revolutionary successors. By dishing up the "sinister self-cultivation" and "six sinister theories," Liu Shao-ch'i vainly attempted to corrupt Communists and revolutionary cadres with feudal, bourgeois and revisionist ideas, so they might become docile tools for pushing the revisionist line. Lin Piao, on the other hand, tampered with Chairman Mao's five criteria with the so-called three conditions, "hold high," "put to the fore," and "work energetically." Teng Hsiao-p'ing, to meet the needs of pushing the revisionist line of "taking the three directives as the key link," also openly opposed Chairman Mao's five criteria and advanced the so-called criterion of selecting cadres from among "people who have strong Party spirit and a good style of work and are capable of uniting with others." Among the various criteria they put forward, there is not the criterion of practicing Marxism, which is the most important. By indulging in the rhetoric of "work energetically" in isolation from Marxism, one can only "work energetically" in dedicating his life to the revisionist line. By talking in an abstract manner about "Party spirit" in isolation from Marxism, one can only mean the bourgeois party spirit. By talking about "capable of uniting with others" in isolation from Marxism, one can do nothing but recruit deserters and renegades and form a faction for private ends. Didn't Teng Hsiao-p'ing cry hysterically that it was necessary to appoint those people who "put daring to the fore" and "are not afraid of being struck down"? To let the cat out of the bag, this means that he wanted to recruit those capitalist roaders in power within the Party who, like himself, dare to go in for reversing verdicts, practicing revisionism and suppressing the masses. Isn't it clear for which class and line he wanted to raise and select cadres? This tells us by negative example that the political line determines the organizational line, that the organizational line is always geared to the political line. The reason why Teng Hsiao-p'ing was so energetic to promote "rectification" and grasp the "group" after rising to power was that they were deeply aware that the line "has to be carried out by people." What kind of people are to hold power is most important to what kind of line is to carry out. For this reason, from the restorationist activities by this chief capitalist roader Teng Hsiao-p'ing we must see the importance of selecting revolutionary successors in pursuance with Chairman Mao's five criteria, and we must continue to seriously read and study, have a good grasp of Marxism, and ceaselessly criticize the revisionist line with Chairman Mao's revolutionary

line. At present, it is especially important to criticize Teng Hsiao-p'ing in depth and carry through to the end the struggle to repulse the Right deviationist wind to reverse verdicts.

Chairman Mao once pointed out: "Successors to the proletarian revolutionary cause are born in mass struggle and grow up from tempering in revolutionary storms." The great revolutionary struggle is the best school for bringing up millions and millions of successors to the proletarian revolutionary cause. To learn warfare through warfare, to study revolution from revolution, to study, temper and improve oneself in the course of revolutionary struggle, and through concrete struggle to acquire direct experience and enhance one's ability -- this is the universal law governing the growth of fine people of the proletariat. Today, through the struggle between the two classes and two lines during the socialist revolution period, particularly through the great cultural revolution, the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius and the struggle to criticize Teng and repulse the Right deviationist wind, many outstanding successors to the proletarian revolutionary cause are growing up sturdily. Lenin said: "The great revolutionary struggle will produce great people." ("In Memory of Y.M. Sverdlov") We are now in an important historical period. "Fifty years to a hundred years from now is a great epoch of momentous changes in the social system in the world, a period where the world is turned upside down, a period without parallel in history." Living in such an epoch, we will necessarily go through great struggles which have many different characteristics in form from any in the past. For this reason, nurtured by Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought, a new generation of successors to the proletarian revolutionary cause is emerging and will continue to emerge during the struggle against class enemies both inside and outside the Party, at home and abroad.

Since the advent of the great proletarian cultural revolution, our Party has followed the principle of three-in-one combination of the old, middle-aged and young in forming leading organs of the Party and state at all levels in accord with Chairman Mao's five criteria for revolutionary successors. This is an important guarantee for carrying through to the end the proletarian revolutionary cause pioneered by Chairman Mao. The socialist society covers a fairly long historical period, throughout which there are classes, class contradictions and class struggle and there is the danger of capitalist restoration. As Lenin said: "Socialist revolution is not a single action nor a single battle on one front but is carried out in one whole era which is full of acute class clashes." For the proletariat to defeat the bourgeoisie and ultimately realize communism is a task that can be completed not by one or two generations of people but by a good many generations through tenacious efforts. Moreover, the communist cause is a cause of hundreds of millions of masses, and from among the broad masses of workers, poor and lower-middle peasants and other laboring masses engaged in the great struggle for socialist revolution and construction, large batches of fine men and women will certainly appear. By observing the principle of three-in-one combination of the old, middle-aged and young, we shall be able to continuously bring new-born forces to the leadership posts, inject new blood

into the leading groups at all levels to give them vigor and vitality, so that there will always be people to carry on the Party's cause. In addition, with young cadres working together with old cadres who have been seasoned through prolonged revolutionary struggle and with middle-aged cadres who combine certain characteristics of both the new and old cadres, it will be helpful to concentrate the fine points of all, "to learn from each other, to make up one's shortcomings with the other's strong points so as to unite together to carry out the common cause." Such leading groups will be more capable of weathering storms, better implementing Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and leading the broad masses to fight against class enemies.

When mourning the death of his close comrade-in-arms, Sverdlov, the revolutionary teacher Lenin said: "The fact that the proletarian revolution is powerful is because it has an inexhaustible source. As we know, it produces batch after batch of people to take over from those who selflessly dedicate themselves to the revolution and sacrifice themselves in struggle," "to carry on their cause, advance along their road and complete the cause they began." While mourning the death of our great leader and teacher Chairman Mao, we are deeply impressed by this teaching of Lenin's. We are convinced that under the guidance of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and in the violent storms of revolutionary struggle, millions upon millions of successors to the proletarian revolutionary cause will be raised to pass on the red flag of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought from generation to generation.

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Party Unity Is the Guarantee for Victory

- Some understanding from studying "The Role of the Chinese Communist Party in the National War"

by

Shih Wen-t'ung (史文桐)

(Hsüeh-hsi yü P'i-p'an /Study and Criticism/, No. 10, September 30, 1976)

While leading the Chinese revolution, great leader Chairman Mao consistently taught us to safeguard the unity and unification of the Party. In the article "The Role of the Chinese Communist Party in the National War," Chairman Mao pointed out: "Unity within the Chinese Communist Party is the fundamental prerequisite for uniting the whole nation to win the War of Resistance against Japan and build a new China." From first to last Chairman Mao saw unity within the Party as the fundamental guarantee for the victory of our cause and set a line of unity for victory for our Party.

The purpose of unity is to carry out the fight. The proletarian revolutionary cause is the cause of hundreds of millions of people. The proletariat can ultimately liberate itself only when it liberates the whole of mankind. The proletariat and its political party must and can unite the masses of people who make up the bulk of the population around themselves and carry out the great struggle for the overthrow of the bourgeoisie and all other exploiting classes, the replacement of the bourgeois dictatorship by the proletarian dictatorship, the triumph of socialism over capitalism, and the ultimate realization of communism. More than a century ago Marx and Engels issued the great call, "Proletarians the world over, unite," inspiring international proletarians to march forward bravely, despite enormous sacrifices. From the democratic revolution to the socialist revolution Chairman Mao also repeatedly taught us: We must form a massive revolutionary army, unite with all forces that can be united with, and isolate class enemies to the maximum extent before the revolution can be won. The Chinese Communist Party -- personally founded and led by Chairman Mao -- is the vanguard of the proletariat, the highest form of proletarian organization, and the nuclear force for uniting the people of the whole country to carry out revolutionary struggle. The unity of the proletariat and the people of the whole nation can be attained only through the unity of the Party, thereby making it possible to overwhelm all enemies, surmount all kinds of difficulties and dangers and continue to advance the proletarian revolutionary cause pioneered by Chairman Mao. While great victories were won in the great proletarian cultural revolution, Chairman Mao called on us: "Unite for one purpose, that is, the consolidation of the dictatorship of the proletariat." In order to realize the grand goal set by Chairman Mao and carry through to the end the proletarian revolutionary cause personally initiated by him, we must further strengthen the unity of the whole Party on the basis of Chairman Mao's revolutionary

line so as to further strengthen the great unity of the people of the whole country led by the working class and based on the worker-peasant alliance.

Great struggle produces great unity; and great unity necessarily leads to great victory. In the long revolutionary war years, under the leadership of great leader Chairman Mao, our Party united as one, fought painstakingly, crushed the counter-revolutionary "encirclement and suppression" campaigns by the Kuomintang reactionaries, victoriously completed the 25,000-li Long March, defeated the Japanese imperialists, overthrew the reactionary rule of the Chiang family dynasty supported by the US imperialists, and founded the socialist new China. For the past more than 20 years since the People's Republic was inaugurated, it has been likewise by depending on the great unity of the whole Party, the whole army and the people of all nationalities throughout the country that great victories have been gained in socialist revolution and socialist construction and in the great proletarian cultural revolution, the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius and the struggle to criticize Teng Hsiao-p'ing and repulse the Right deviationist wind to reverse verdicts. Historical experience tells us that unity is strength and unity means victory. The successes of our Party, our state and our people today are all due to the implementation of this line of unity for victory personally formulated by Chairman Mao. The great victories have in turn further consolidated and developed the great unity. Baptized in battle in the fighting course of more than 50 years and particularly in the great proletarian cultural revolution, our Party has become purer, stronger and more vigorous, the great unity of the whole Party and the people of the whole country has never been so consolidated, and our revolutionary cause will undoubtedly have a bright future.

The unity of the Party is the guarantee for carrying out the Party's correct line, and the Party's correct line is the political basis for achieving the unity of the Party. Chairman Mao pointed out: "What do we mean by unity? Of course, we mean unity based on Marxism-Leninism, not unity without principle." The Party's basic line Chairman Mao formulated for us for the historical period of socialism is the lifeline of our Party and state as well as the lifeline of the great unity of the whole Party, the whole army and the people of all nationalities throughout the country. This revolutionary line regulates the political content of revolutionary unity and determines the political direction of strengthening unity. We must forever remember that Chairman Mao made adeptness in uniting with the vast majority of people, including uniting with people who had previously opposed us erroneously, as one of the five requirements for successors to the revolution. We must forever observe the principle laid down by Chairman Mao for our Party -- "Practice Marxism, and not revisionism; unite, and don't split; and be open and aboveboard, and don't intrigue and conspire." On the premise of upholding Marxism and persevering in continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, we must "solidly unite all the forces of our Party on democratic centralist principles of organization and discipline." At present, we must persist in deepening the struggle to criticize Teng Hsiao-p'ing and repulse the

Right deviationist wind to reverse verdicts, draw the distinction between right and wrong on the line, and further safeguard and strengthen the unity and unification of the Party.

The Party Central Committee is the core of the unity of our whole Party. Of the Party, the government, the army, the people and students and in the east, west, south, north and central -- the Party leads in everything. The Party Central Committee is the highest leading organ of our Party, the proletarian headquarters leading the people of the whole country to fight. Party organizations at all levels, including those at the local level, in the army and in various departments, must accept the Party's centralized leadership and unite closely round the Party Central Committee. Communists must have the viewpoint of the whole. "Communists must grasp the principle of subordinating the needs of the part to the needs of the whole. If a proposal appears feasible for a partial situation but not for the situation as a whole, then the part must give way to the whole. Conversely, if the proposal is not feasible for the part but is feasible in the light of the situation as a whole, again the part must give way to the whole. This is what is meant by considering the situation as a whole." The whole Party must give way to the Central Committee, and the part to the whole -- this has been a rule personally set by Chairman Mao for our Party. Our Party is a great, glorious and correct party founded by Chairman Mao himself. Our Party Central Committee is a strong nucleus formed and long tested under Chairman Mao's leadership. We are convinced that with the whole Party, the whole army and the people of all nationalities throughout the country united under the leadership of the Party Central Committee, we shall surely be able to carry through to the end the proletarian revolutionary cause pioneered by Chairman Mao.

We hail from five lakes and four seas, and it is Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line that has bound us together. In our Party, our comrades have different revolutionary experiences: some are old Red Army fighters who took part in the Long March, some joined the revolution during the War of Resistance against Japan or in the War of Liberation, some joined the revolution after the founding of the People's Republic, and there is a large group of new fighters who emerged during the great cultural revolution. Whether they are old or new fighters, they are our Party's blood, the Party's precious assets. Our comrades also work in different fighting posts: some work in the localities, some in the army; some are engaged in Party work and some in administrative work; some fight in the superstructure and some in the economic and production departments, and so forth. However, we are all members of the great, glorious and correct Chinese Communist Party personally founded by Chairman Mao. Our Party is an incomparably strong and united body. That is why it has been able to serve as the vanguard of the proletariat, shoulder the hopes of the people and become an all-conquering force.

In "The Role of the Chinese Communist Party in the National War," Chairman Mao stated confidently: "Seventeen years of tempering have taught the Chinese Communist Party many ways of attaining internal unity." Today,

our Party, having gone through the new democratic revolution and the socialist revolution and particularly the great proletarian cultural revolution, the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius and the struggle to criticize Teng Hsiao-p'ing and repulse the Right deviationist wind to reverse verdicts, has accumulated a very rich fund of experience in class struggle and the struggle between the two lines. We have learned a great deal more about the ways of maintaining internal unity. Chairman Mao concretely generalized the methods for solving the contradictions among the people into the formula "unity -- criticism -- unity." This formula equally applies to our Party. We Communists are dialectical materialists. In dealing with our own comrades, we have always emphasized the need to start from reality and carry out dialectical analysis of "one divides into two." This is so in dealing with old comrades and is also so in dealing with new comrades; it is so in dealing with comrades who have made mistakes and is even more so in dealing with comrades who have not made mistakes. A mistake is of course a bad thing, but if we can correctly sum it up and draw the lesson from it, it may be turned into not only personal but also the Party's spiritual asset. That one has not made a mistake is a good thing, but because he has not suffered from a setback and learned his lesson, this may add to his blindness in doing certain things and turn into his own weakness. For this reason, in dealing with comrades who made mistakes, Chairman Mao always stressed that "the emphasis should be placed on an analysis of the circumstances at the time, the content of the mistakes, the social, historical and ideological sources of the mistakes, and we should carry out the policy of learning from past mistakes to avoid future ones and curing the sickness to save the patient so as to achieve the twofold purpose of clarity in ideology and unity among comrades." In case past mistakes have been rectified, the old scores should not be brought up again. When those comrades who made mistakes in line have corrected their mistakes and returned to Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, they should be welcomed. Those who have made mistakes but are unable to see the light for the time being, they should be allowed some time to recognize their mistakes provided that they do not persist in their mistakes. However, in dealing with mistakes, we must uphold the principle of criticism and self-criticism and must never allow one to hide his disease without seeking a doctor's help, thereby deceiving himself and others. Communists are open and aboveboard and should have the courage to admit the mistakes they have made. Otherwise, it will be impossible to resolutely draw a line of demarcation with Teng Hsiao-p'ing's revisionist line, and this will not help one raise his consciousness of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The unity of the Party is continuously consolidated and developed amid the struggle between the two lines. In "The Role of the Chinese Communist Party in the National War," Chairman Mao, summing up our Party's experience of struggle against the opportunist lines of Wang Ming, Chang Kuo-t'ao and others, pointed out: "These lessons, these achievements, have furnished us with the prerequisites for uniting the whole Party, for strengthening its ideological, political and organizational unity, and for

successfully waging the War of Resistance. Our Party has consolidated itself and grown strong through the struggle on two fronts." All opportunist and revisionist chieftains are splittists. There is no exception for people from Ch'en Tu-hsiu to Lo Chang-lung, Wang Ming and Chang Kuo-T'ao during the new democratic revolution period, nor for people from Kao Kang, Jao Shu-shih, P'eng Te-huai, Liu Shao-ch'i and Lin Piao to Teng Hsiao-p'ing during the socialist revolution period. Practicing revisionism politically, they had to practice sectarianism and splittism organizationally. But all those who practiced splittism did not come to a good end. People from Ch'en Tu-hsiu to Teng Hsiao-p'ing attempted to create splits again and again, but they all fell quickly one by one. This shows that the people, the Party and Party members want unity, not splits. The history of the two-line struggle within the Party has been a history in which Chairman Mao's revolutionary line has again and again triumphed over the opportunist and revisionist lines, a history in which the whole Party has continued to head for new victories from new unity based on Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought. Our great Party, great army and great people are armed with the invincible Mao Tsetung Thought. Today, the whole Party, the whole army and the people of all nationalities throughout the country, following Chairman Mao's adjuration "Act according to the principles laid down," firmly and unswervingly unite round the Party Central Committee and go from victory to victory along Chairman Mao's line of unity for victory!

Let us forever remember and practice Chairman Mao's great fighting call: Unite and win still greater victories!

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